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ABSTRACT

Drawing attention to different models of storytelling, this paper summarizes information about specific aspects of children's oral narrative structure in several cultures and explores some implications these aspects have for multicultural education programs that include stories. The paper first describes a methodology for trying to understand narratives from different cultures, which might be termed a "derived etic procedure." The paper then discusses some cultural differences in storytelling, noting that: (1) European-American children often tell personal narratives that resemble fairy tales in general form; (2) Japanese children living in America tend to tell stories that are cohesive collections of several experiences they have had (usually three); (3) African-American children often begin and end with a theme, improvising upon events in between those two points; and (4) Latino children foreground their family connections to events, places, and even times. The paper also discusses two areas of classroom life affected by cultural differences in story-telling style: social interaction and curriculum. The paper concludes that narratives from all children tend to involve self-presentation around events that have happened to them in the past. A list of 109 references and a translation and transcription of a discussion between a Salvadoran child and an adult are attached. (RS)

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All Kinds of Good Stories*

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There are abundant recommendations for increasing the use of stories in classrooms these days (e.g., Barton, 1986; Egan, 1986), for the purpose of instruction in such varied subject matter as moral development and science. There are also numerous calls for multiculturalism in curricular efforts (e.g., Ramsey, 1989) to engage the increasingly diverse students to be found in American classrooms, among other things. To reconcile these two educational movements, we must re-evaluate existing literacy curricula because of our widely held misconception that there is such a thing as a universally good story. When asked, many Americans will say that a good fictional story or factual narrative has the following attributes: (1) a clear beginning, middle, and end, as Aristotle pointed out centuries ago; (2) a sequence of events--a plot; and (3) the precipitation and resolution of conflict or problem-solving (Mandler & Johnson, 1977). All these aspects of "good" story structure derive from the European storytelling tradition, which is only one among many such traditions. Ironically, none of the ways we have of evaluating what it means to tell a good story adequately accounts even for ordinary European-American adults' sense of what makes a story either a good or a memorable one (McCabe & Peterson, 1984, 1990). Such definitions fall even flatter when forced to deal with narratives from other cultural heritages. This "one size fits all" approach (Reyes, 1992) towards storytelling needs to be reconsidered, which is the goal of this article. We need to come to understand and value stories that do not necessarily display all or any of the aforementioned so-called features of narrative. We

need to do so because storytelling affects curriculum and social interaction between children, their peers and their teachers and because there is no such thing as "race-free" literature, as Toni Morrison has pointed out (1992, p. 12). While Morrison was referring to adult literary works, I will argue that the same point applies to children's literature.

In drawing attention to different models of storytelling, similarities are also implied (Burbules & Rice, 1991). In fact, we may more easily find similarities between cultures when we acknowledge, discuss, and come to understand differences than when we simply assert commonalities without careful examination. In the end, one cannot help but simultaneously see differences and similarities between cultures. As we consider cultural differences in fictional stories or factual narratives from various cultures in the following article, we will come to see that narratives from all children tend to involve self-presentation around events that have happened to them in the past. When children make sense of their experience through narrating it (Hymes, 1984), we come to understand them by means of the roles they select to portray for themselves, their family, and their friends. At the same time, however, we will also see the some distinctly different ways in which these tasks can be accomplished.

Important Stories.

Many people highlight the importance of stories in classrooms (Barton, 1986; Paley, 1990; Egan, in press). Stories are an early genre of discourse that children learn to speak publicly (Michaels,

1991). Stories are often an early writing form (Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983; Sulzby, 1986). Stories are also a time-honored but recently neglected means of implementing moral education programs (Vitz, 1990). Recent work in philosophy and cognitive psychology highlights the importance of narrative in developing arguments (Bruner, 1990; MacIntyre, 1981) and thinking in general (Dennett, 1992). Oral history projects (e.g., the Foxfire series[1]) have brought to our attention the fact that one of the most effective ways of teaching history to children is by using familiar adults' narratives. In their own narratives, children develop a sense of self-presentation as they make sense of their experiences, portraying themselves as heroes or victims, clowns or bystanders.

The Problem is The Reason: Cultural Differences in Narrative Structure Complicate Multicultural Literacy Programs.

Much has been made of a contrast between an oral tradition and a literate one (Bernstein, 1974; see Hemphill, 1989, for review; Scribner & Cole, 1981), with the general implication being that literate-style language allows for a smoother transition to literacy than does oral-style language (e.g., Michaels & Collins, 1984). Some (e.g., Heath, 1982; Snow, 1983) have taken issue with this use of "literate-style" to refer to any form of oral language, arguing that such usage blurs the meaning of the terms. I will follow Snow (1983, p.166) in defining oral language as "all oral forms of communication, speaking and listening," which contrasts to "the activities and skills associated directly with the use of print--primarily reading and writing," because historically,

literacy itself began with writing (Ong, 1982). I will assume that any kind of oral language can be made literate by the act of writing it down, and argue that: (1) the smoothness of the transition of linguistically different children from oral language use in preschool years to the acquisition of reading and writing may be enhanced by expanding our definition of what constitutes good stories, and (2) that understanding the literature of any culture not one's own is greatly facilitated by understanding the oral discourse style that participants in that culture value; without such background knowledge, a reader is likely to be severely constrained in comprehension.

Bartlett's great experiment

When I lecture on the impact of storytelling traditions on the comprehension of stories, I ask my audience to engage in a self-experiment by listening to a Native American narrative about two young men who go hunting. One of them joins a war party, one of them returns home. The one who joins the war party is wounded but returns home to tell the story about warring with people whom he says were ghosts. the story concludes as follows: "He told it all, and then he became quiet. When the sun rose he fell down. Something black came out of his mouth. His face became contorted. The people jumped up and cried. He was dead.

All the words in the story are English words, not even particularly unusual ones. All the sentences are grammatically well-formed sentences, not even complicated in structure. However, to most English-speaking English and American adults, the story

simply makes very little sense. Every year when I read this example to graduate students, I see many faces change from alert interest to puzzlement to empathic embarrassment for me, a professor who is making no sense whatsoever to her audience.

What I am actually doing when I present this North American Indian folktale is replicating an experiment done by a British psychologist, F.C. Bartlett (1932, p. 65), many years ago. In a book that would eventually revolutionize the way psychologists viewed the act of Remembering (also the title of his book), Bartlett presented this tale to British citizens of various ages and had them recall the tale repeatedly. Over these retellings, Bartlett noticed that his subjects omitted much information and began to reshape other information, substituting words more familiar to them, leaving some enigmatic things out and putting other information in--essentially making the tale into something closer to an English tale than the original North American Indian one.

Bartlett's experiment has been corroborated by more recent studies. Adult readers wrote better summaries of stories for which they had an appropriate set of culture-specific expectations, or culture-bound schema, than for stories from a different culture, and repeated retellings of a North American Indian story that deviated from these English-speaking European-American college students' own schemas resulted in poor performance (Kintsch & Greene, 1978). Foreign scripts were misremembered to be more like North American scripts by North American subjects (Harris, Lee,

Hensley & Schoen, 1988). Both Americans and nonliterate and schooled villagers in Botswana recalled stories (themes & episodes) from their own culture better than stories from the other one (Dube, 1978). Recently, Palauan and American 11th grade readers read culturally familiar and unfamiliar passages in their own language. Students used different, more efficient strategies when confronted by texts from their own culture than when confronted by texts from a different culture, texts that did not meet their expectations. Students also recalled significantly more ideas and elaborations and produced fewer distortions for the culturally familiar rather than for the unfamiliar passage (Pritchard, 1990). Of most relevance for the present article is that when low-income preschool children of different ethnic backgrounds retell the same story, they do so in distinctive ways. Specifically, while the total amount said by Puerto Rican children did not differ from that said by African-American children, the nature of what they recalled was quite different; Puerto Rican children recalled far more description and far less action than did African-American children (John & Berney, 1968; John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992).

What all these studies mean is that children, as well as adults, comprehend and remember more of stories that conform to the structure of the kind of stories they have heard at home. Narrative is the primary means by which children make sense of their experience (Hymes, 1984). To put together a coherent narrative of some event that has happened to you is to sort through the blooming, buzzing confusion of life's happenings, extract the

most salient component events, arrange them in some order, highlight the importance of these events for your listener--in short to make sense of that experience. We remember stories from different cultures in ways that make those stories conform to the kind of stories we expect because such stories become more sensible to us in the reshaping of them.

Because what children remember and comprehend from new stories they hear depends critically on the kind of stories they are accustomed to telling, we need to have specific information about the kind of stories children tell when they come to school. Children begin telling personal narratives from the age of two (Sachs, 1982; McCabe & Peterson, 1991) and tell many fictional and factual narratives before ever coming to school (Applebee, 1978; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Cultural differences in storytelling have been documented for adults (e.g., Chafe, 1980), as have such differences in children's conversations about past events with adults (Schieffelin & Eisenberg, 1984). Cultural differences also have been documented for the ways in which working-class and middle-class African-American and European-American children are socialized to take meaning from books (Heath, 1982). What I want to do in this paper is to summarize information about specific aspects of children's oral narrative structure in several cultures and explore some implications these aspects have for multicultural education programs that include stories.

How to Translate Narrative Structure and to Appreciate What it Means

Over the past few years, I have developed a methodology for trying to understand narratives from different cultures, which might be termed a "derived etic procedure" (Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, & Moseir, in press). In other words, I started off with the kind of general definition of narrative found at the outset of this article, held on loosely to the notion that a narrative involves presenting the self in the context of making sense of past experiences in conversation, and proceeded to modify other aspects of that concept in the course of getting to know storytelling traditions in various cultures.

More specifically, first, a full participant in a particular culture, who has an emic perspective, expresses an interest in articulating the rules for telling good stories in that culture. Then that person interviews children from that culture who are between the ages of six and eight years. Such children are old enough to have developed the basic cultural form for storytelling but not so old that their stories have become unduly complicated and idiosyncratic (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). We use a translation of a conversation map that has been used successfully for hundreds of children from many different backgrounds. The map operates on the principle that children, like adults, are much more likely to tell a narrative about their experiences if the adult shares one or more about his/her own experiences first. Thus, the adult interviewer tells brief narratives about getting hurt, taking a pet to the veterinarian's office, etc., and then responds with open-ended questions (e.g., "Umhum, and then?") or simply repeats the

child's statements. Such responses are to be culturally appropriate but not particularly specific.

After these interviews are collected, conversations are transcribed, narratives are identified, and scoring of these narratives begins. As we score narratives, we discuss various aspects of the culture in which the children and the adult live. My operating assumption here is that all unified cultures develop a kind of aesthetic taste that pertains to all senses. Perhaps this taste reflects an adaptation to physical circumstances, as Harris (1974) has argued. However, even if members of that cultural group come to America where physical circumstances are vastly different, the aesthetic sensibility may remain the same over generations. Thus, cultural differences in narrative structure are embedded in much larger cultural concerns. Our method of narrative translation uses both a member of the culture of interest to provide information and a member of a foreign culture to ask questions and comment on what may strike outsiders as the most distinctive features of that culture. Those distinctive features may be taken so much for granted that little, if any, attention is paid to them by insiders.

What we see with such cultural differences in narrative structure is a kind of cultural adaptation to particular environments. Perhaps the human species evolved language not so that we could transmit tool-making techniques (Lieberman, 1975), but so that we could pass on culturally relevant life lessons in narrative form to our children and to other members of our culture.

In a literary moment reminiscent of many parents' cautionary tales to their children, Beatrix Potter's Mrs. Rabbit admonishes her children and rationalizes her proscriptions with a personal narrative: "Now, my dears,..you may go into the fields or down the lane, but don't go into Mr. McGregor's garden: your Father had an accident there; he was put in a pie by Mrs. McGregor." In fact, the personal narratives most likely to be remembered by other listeners are ones that relate some sensational event, usually injuries or accidents (McCabe & Peterson, 1990).

Children acquire basic narrative structure at home with their parents during their infancy and preschool years. Within any one culture, there may be more and less successful parental styles for talking with children about past events. However, all parents observed to date discuss past events with and/or in front of their children beginning at at least two years of age (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 1992; McCabe & Peterson, 1990, 1991; Miller, Potts, & Fung, 1989; Schieffelin & Eisenberg, 1984).

Not only is it true that children acquire most of their sense of story at home between the ages of two and six years, it may also be quite difficult to extend that sense of oral story at school. I have also conducted experiments that attempted to facilitate narrative development in a variety of ways, most employing adults to talk with preschool and kindergarten children one-on-one for 6 weeks to a year, for hours, about past events. These intervention projects failed to advance the children's narrative structure in any of the many ways we have available to assess that structure

(McCabe, 1989). I learned from these projects that "teaching oral narrative at school" was a tremendously daunting and perhaps fundamentally misguided task. Thus, instead of trying to change children's storytelling form, I have returned to my original emphasis on trying to understand the storytelling skills they bring to school and to provide children with a vocabulary for describing how it is that they tell a story. In the process, I have come to appreciate many different kinds of stories.

Before considering the variety of stories found cross-culturally, however, I must preface this discussion by drawing attention to how much variation exists within one culture. For example, European and European-American tastes for detailed description in novels has declined dramatically from Victorian to modern times (Logan, in press). Contemporary European-American parents (and their children) differ in the extent to which they foreground description (setting) versus plot in conversational narratives (Peterson & McCabe, 1992), and some families tell long, involved narratives on a regular basis, while others tell quite abbreviated ones (McCabe & Peterson, 1991). European-American girls foreground conversation when they tell about past personal experiences more than do boys (Ely & McCabe, in press). Thus, variation within a culture is as remarkable as variation between cultures.

Moreover, cultures that are grouped together with such labels as European-American or African-American or Asian-American or Latino are comprised of distinctly different cultures themselves,

and such differences have an impact on storytelling. For example, children from different Native American communities tell and retell stories differently from each other: for example, Sioux stories emphasize action, while Navajo stories are quieter and more contemplative, and include many references to members of the hero's family (John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992). Pueblo children rarely include such family connections, nor do they emphasize cultural themes, as do children from most other Native American communities (John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992).

Differences in narrative structure have been found among groups that share some European heritage. For example, Hungarian children, unlike Anglo-American children, embellish a story in retelling it (John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992). In spontaneous narratives told at dinner time, American children tend to talk more about themselves, often with adult assistance, while Israeli children talk less about themselves and more about shared family events such as trips (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 1992).

For these reasons, I enter into a discussion of some cultural differences in storytelling highlighting the diversity among members of various groups and mindful of the landmines that labels can be in any discussion of diversity, with their unplanned but inevitable obsolescence. That is, I have sought to use labels that many individuals within a group tell me are the ones preferred at this time. My greatest struggle was what to call the ethnic group to which I myself belong, and I have decided after many conversations with members of many different cultures to use the

term European-American consistently throughout this work because it parallels most other terms used.

Telling Plots. Long ago, Vladimir Propp analyzed Russian fairy tales and found that most such tales involved one of a limited number of basic plot structures. His work has been translated into analyses applicable to children's own narratives (e.g., Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977). In such analyses, representation of problem-solving is a critical prerequisite of a true story, and children's productions that do not contain such problem-solving are said to be primitive (see Peterson & McCabe, 1983 for further discussion of this point).

At present, schools operate under the assumption that the kind of story that resembles European fairy tales is the literate, model story form. Such an emphasis is in accord with recent research on reading comprehension (e.g., Pearson & Fielding, 1991). Such research concludes that "ideas that are identified as important in a story grammar or central story content analysis, especially if they are implied but not stated, should receive instructional focus" (p. 826), although efforts should be made to see whether such instruction, applied to texts written expressly for such purposes, transfers to real short stories and novels, which often do not conform to story grammar sequences.

Experience with American children of European extraction would lead teachers to conclude aptly that they often tell personal narratives that resemble fairy tales in general form (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). By six, European-American children tell stories that

meet almost all European-American conventional expectations of what a good story is: they begin by orienting their listener about who and what was involved and when things took place. They build up a series of events to a high point, often the solution of some problem, and then they go on to resolve the events. In the following narrative, for example, six year old Mark tells what happened after the climactic event of getting poked:

MARK: There's um where I got poked. You know them pencil things that Eversharp thing that you sharpen that you open and you sort of go like that?

INTERVIEWER: That you open so they go like that?

MARK: Yeah, and one side's the sharp side and the other side's just a handle like? You know they have these little holes and the pencil goes right down there?

INTERVIEWER: uh huh?

MARK: And also they have a poker and stuff. But the poker went right through there and came right through here, and hit that (points to arm). And it got over there and came out. And it was all dirty cause there was pencil lead down there. And we had to get it out and we had to squeeze and squeeze and all the blood just <u>rolled</u> on the floor. Just like this (gestures). It just falled. Goed like this, and it hit the floor.

In the following example, again from a six-year-old, a little boy gives an abstract of his narrative, and then commences to orient his listener about when the break occurred and to detail

what led up to the terrible event, pausing to evaluate that event with orientation about its most direct cause (the hard surface) and evaluation of the result ("two triangles"). After receiving an indication of continued interest from his listener, he proceeds to describe how things were resolved (an operation), and brings us out of narrative with a coda about having a cast now and an invitation to sign it. Such a narrative matches the structure articulated by Labov (1972) and is typical of six-year-old lower- and middle-class European-American children (McCabe & Peterson, 1990; Peterson & McCabe, 1983):

NICK: Hi Sue. I broke my arm. I was, well, um, well, um, um, the day # two days ago. I was climbing the the tree and I, Well see, I went towards the low branch and I and I I got caught with my baving suit? I dangled my hands down and they got bent because it was like this hard surface under it? Then they bent like in two triangles.

[INTERVIEWER ON PHONE RESPONDS]

Yeah, but luckily it was my left arm that broke.

[INTERVIEWER]

What? no. Only my Mom was. My mom was in the shower, so I screamed for Jessica, and Jessica goed told my mom.

[INTERVIEWER]

I don't have Dr. Vincent. I had to go to the hospital and get mm, It was much more worser than you think because I had to get, go into the operation room and I had to get my, And I had to take um

anesthesia and I had to fall, fall, fall asleep and they bended my arm back and I have my cast on....Do you want to sign my cast?

European-American children often enumerate the particulars of single experiences that are meaningful to them. They tend to sequence several events in these oral stories, and have been doing so in most of their stories ever since they were five years old (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In their stories about real past experiences, they often recognize some problem confronted by themselves or others, goals that were precipitated by facing that problem, and whether or not such problems were resolved. Thus, many European-American children come well-equipped for the kind of stories they hear in school, which tend to be exactly of this form, and there is research that suggests that many European-American teachers know exactly how to listen to such stories and that they both appreciate and extend them in written, as well as oral, form (Michaels, 1991). These stories have beginnings ("You know what? I broke my arm!"), middles (linear sequence of events that constituted some one particular happening), and endings ("That's all") that are easily read as such by teachers who share this background.

Compressed Collections of Experiences. In contrast to the often lengthy stories detailing single experiences told by European-American children, Masahiko Minami and I (Minami & McCabe, 1991) have found that Japanese children living in America tend to tell stories that are cohesive collections of several experiences

they have had (usually three). Each experience is summarized briefly, often in a scant three lines of elaboration. In many ways, their stories of real experiences resemble haiku. Minami (1990) found that such beautifully ordered simplicity may strike some expansive Americans as "boring" or "unimaginative" unless such characteristics are pointed out and related to the Japanese cultural value of avoiding verbosity that would insult listeners and embarrass narrators. Notice the collection of three injury experiences below, injuries that are contrasted to each other and described in elegantly succinct language, language that omits pronouns, copulas, and other items that are easily inferred by listeners. Notice also that there is a progressive movement from victimization to mastery of the hurtful intrusions. Both Japanese narratives below were collected, translated, and analyzed[2] by Masahiko Minami.

SHUN: As for the first shot,
(I) got (it) at Ehime.
(It) hurt a lot.

As for the second shot,
(I) knew (it) would hurt.
(It) didn't hurt so much.

The next one didn't hurt so much either.
As for the last shot, you know.
(It) didn't hurt at all.

Another instance is below; when asked, "Have you ever gotten hurt?" a 7-year, 10-month-old girl Sayaka mentions three different types of injuries: 1) an injury in kindergarten, 2) a fall off an iron bar, and 3) two hernia operations. Though this narrative discusses four experiences, it does so in such a fashion that there are really only three parts to her story.

PART I: [Injury in kindergarten]

STANZA A: [Got hurt in kindergarten]

a) When (I was) in kindergarten

b) (I) got (my) leg caught in a bicycle,

c) (I) got a cut here, here, and.

STANZA B: [Aftermath of injury]

d) (I) wore a cast for about a month.

e) (I) took a rest for about a week, and

f) (I) went back again.

PART II: [An Iron bar]

STANZA C: [Fell off an Iron Bar]

a) (I) had a cut here

b) (I) fell off an iron bar.

c) Yeah, (I) had two mouths.[3]

PART III: [Hernia operations]

STANZA D: [The first operation]

a) Um, well, (I) was born with (a) hernia, I heard.

b) As for the one hernia,

c) As a little baby, (I) got an operation, but,

STANZA E: [The second operation]

d) As (I) didn't have an operation for the other one,

e) As an early first grader, (I) was hospitalized, and

f) (I) got an operation

Improvising on a Theme .In contrast to the restraint of Japanese children, African-American children may seem talkative. In the following interchange with Mignonne Pollard, a nine-year-old African-American girl deftly links several tooth-pulling incidents into a humorous story, unified by the theme she articulates memorably at the end:

VIVIAN: We went to the dentist before
and I was gettin' my tooth pulled
and the doc, the dentist said, "Oh, it's not gonna hurt."
and he was lying to me.

It hurt.
It hurted so bad I coulda gone on screamin even though I think some..
(I don't know what it was like.)
I was, in my mouth like, I was like, "Oh that hurt!"
He said no, it wouldn't hurt.

Cause last time I went to the doctor, I had got this spray.
This doctor, he sprayed some spray in my mouth
and my tooth appeared in his hand.

He put me to sleep,
and then, and then I woke up.
He used some pliers to take it out,
and I didn't know.

So I had told my, I asked my sister how did, how did the man take (it out).
and so she said, "He used some pliers."
I said, "Nah, he used that spray."
She said, "Nope he used that spray to put you to sleep,
and he used the pliers to take it out."

I was, like, "Huh, that's amazin'."
I swear to God I was so amazed that, hum..
It was so amazing, right?
that I had to look for myself,

and then I asked him too.
and he said, "Yes, we, I used some pliers to take out your tooth,
and I put you to sleep, an, so you wouldn't know,
and that's how I did it."

and I was like, "Ooouuu."
and then I seen my sister get her tooth pulled.
I was like, "Ooouuu"
Cause he had to put her to sleep to, hmm, to take out her tooth.

It was the same day she got her tooth pulled,

and I was scared.
I was like, "EEEhhhmmm."
I had a whole bunch cotton in my mouth, chompin on it
Cause I had to hold it to, hmm, stop my bleeding.

I, one day I was in school.
I took out my own tooth.
I put some hot water in it the night, the, the night before I went to school.
and I was taking a test.

And then it came out right when I was takin, when I finished the test.
And my teacher asked me, was it bleeding?
I said, "No It's not bleeding,
Cause I put some hot water on it."

And so my cousin, he wanted to take out his tooth,
and he didn't know what to do,
so I told him.
"I'm a Pullin' Teeth Expert."

"Pull out your own tooth,
but if you need somebody to do it,

Call me,
and I'll be over."

Or consider the following example from a first-grader performing his story for his classmates at Sharing Time. The narrative was collected by Michele Foster and Sarah Michaels (1987):

RENE: At Thanksgiving when I went to my grandma and grandpa, um
We were, we had, we had all all this food
and I was at the table, right?
and ..it was the day before Thanksgiving.

and I said to my, I was really, really stuffed because we just had finished eating,
and I said, I'm so so full, I could eat a Thanksgiving turkey.
and she said, "Well you could eat the stuffing too."
and I said, I said, "why don't you and Daddy put the stuffing in bed.

and, and, and Daddy, my father looked at me
and he said, "Huh? Huh?"
(That's what he always does when, um I say something like he should be chicken or something.)
He goes, "Huh, Huh" (laughs)
He goes like that.

And my grandfather always makes um jokes about him being so dumb when he was little.

Like he said one time, he said..he's at the kitchen table,

He said, "When your father was about ten he didn't know his feet from his head,

And he would put his shoes on his head and his feet on top." (laughs).

An um then he goes, "Well you're bald Dad." (laughs).

And um then he goes, "Well guess what?"

"You didn't have any hair when you were five."

And he said, and he said, "Now I bet that was a joke."

And he said, "No, I don't."

I only have eight plus seven.

And everyone laughed.

And um we heard, um when we were sleeping, I heard a scratching noise.

And I snuck out to the um door.

And there was a, there was a mama raccoon scratching at the thing with um five babies.

And I um called Nana, my grandmother, and my grandfather and my daddy to come.

And we let em in for a minute because they were kind of allergic to them.

(They only let them in for a minute.)

And they gave 'em some milk and stuff.

And we gave em some milk and a little bit of, of left-over turkey.

And um we let 'em out.

Then uh, and in midnight, actually it was like two o'clock in the morning.

I heard a scratch again.

And I went to the same room

And it was just a little, little baby rabbit with his mo--with one mother.

And he was so cute

And I fed them some milk and some left-over turkey.

And then um then I let them out.

A minute later I heard another knocking (listening child goes, "OOOh" here) at the door.

I opened it up

And it was my grandfather (laughs) saying, "What's all that noise out there?" (chuckles)

And and um after that day, I never let anything, a living thing in except um, except uh, I forget.

OTHER CHILD: Animals?

RENE: I almost got, I almost got really scared because of it.

There's three hawks near their house that live there,
and they try to swoop around and get all the birds 'cause they put out bird feeders and stuff.
They, um, my grandma and grandpa, they look down on the bird feeders,
and they try to catch all their birds.

And the hawk was flying around.
I could see it.
I walked out,
and I saw this big flying shadow outside.

Now it couldn't be Superman.
It just couldn't be.

The full story is too long for this article, so I must summarize the next part. At this point in the performance, the narrator continues to tell us more about the hawks who came by and his friends who warned him of the hawks. He concludes the story:

And that night I was scared half to death.
I couldn't sleep.
and I kept remembering my, in my mind I kept um thinking I heard ark ark.

and I kept on listening, going (hand to ear, turning head from side to side).

I even stopped breathing for a moment (holds breath for effect). and I thought I hear a, I thought I heard something.

I thought I heard someone going ark ark

but I didn't.

I was just hearing things 'cause I was so scared.

OTHER CHILD: I have a question.

RENE: And we had some pumpkin pie for dessert.

Karen Craddock-Willis and I have noted that when performing stories for their peers, as this child was, African-American children may begin and end with a theme, improvising upon events in between these two points in a fashion reminiscent of jazz compositions (Craddock-Willis, 1990). Rene starts with Thanksgiving dinner, goes far afield from that with his various recapitulations of animal visits, benign and threatening, and comes round again to the same theme: "And we had some pumpkin pie for dessert." In another narrative originally analyzed by Gee (1991a), Karen Craddock-Willis remarks that a little girl begins and ends a lengthy discussion of how her family baked her grandmother an extraordinary number of cakes with the phrase, "Today It's Friday the 13th, and it's Bad Luck Day." Unless listeners come to appreciate the structure of these compositions with their own version of beginning (theme),

middle (improvisation on the theme), and end (return to the theme), they may dismiss them--and in fact have done so--as "rambling" or "not talking about one important thing" (Michaels, 1991).

Zora Neale Hurston (1935/1990, p. 8) and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1988, p. 56) bring to our attention the fact that lies is a traditional African-American word for figurative discourse, tales, or stories. As Michaels and Foster point out (1987), Rene skillfully blends facts and fantasy above. The upshot of this aspect of African-American storytelling style performed for uninformed European-American teachers and children may unfortunately result in a profound misunderstanding, however, with African-American children being accused of, instead of appreciated for, "lying." Such differing emphases on the importance of strict adherence to facts derives from parental taste and tolerance for fictionalized versions of experience (Heath, 1983; Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, & Mintz, 1990).

Another feature of some African-American narratives is the teasing that is frequently either the point of the story or part of what is recapitulated, as in Rene's story above. He and his father tease each other, and his father and grandfather tease each other. Teasing in general is a common language game among African-Americans (Labov, 1972).

African-American children's written narratives are far more likely to include metaphors than are European-American children's (Pollio, Fine & Barlow, 1989). Dialogue is also prominent and serves as a device to evaluate a narrator's experiences (Labov,

1972). While narratives often thematically interweave several experiences, such as in the examples above, African-American children usually plot numerous sequences of events within the context of the individual experiences combined (Rodino, Gimbert, Perez, Craddock-Willis, & McCabe, 1991). African-American adolescents' written narratives frequently contain numerous stylistic devices such as irony, alliteration, rhyme, and metaphors (Daubney-Davis, 1992). In all these ways, then, ordinary African-American children's narratives mirror the kind of African-American novels that have been appearing on best-seller lists, novels such as Toni Morrison's Jazz.

Foregrounding Family Connections, Backgrounding Plot. Ana Maria Rodino, Carmella Perez, Cindy Gimbert and I have found that, at first glance, one of the most prominent features of Latino[4] narrative structure may be particularly hard for individuals outside of such cultures to understand because of our deeply (European-American) ingrained equation of narration with sequencing actions. Only about half of the narratives from Latino children we spoke with contained sequences of events (Rodino et al, 1991), as in the following narrative collected by Carmella Perez from an English-dominant Latino child:

EVA: My sister's sick um because she had a big eye like that. And they, and she's supposed to stay in the hospital.

INTERVIEWER: She was supposed to stay in the hospital?

EVA: Yeah, and she stayed a long time.

INTERVIEWER: She stayed a long time?

EVA: Yeah, but she don't like that. And they starting to come again.

INTERVIEWER: They starting to come again?

EVA: Yeah, one Sunday, we went to the, you know, to church. And then, and then that wasn't on her. And then when we tooked to the hospital to get my (unintelligible), I stayed there with my father. And Mommy scolded her--Joanna. His name is Joanna. And and then Mommy called. And she was worried because she she, um Joanni needed to stayed. So we went to, to see her. And then we, we--I, I needed to stay at my Didi's house. And que que ya venia pra,pra pa his house.

INTERVIEWER: Mmmhum. Well she came, what until she came back to your house.

EVA: Yeah. Sometimes I stayed with my father when when he didn't had to work. And sometimes yeah, and sometimes no.

There are very few real events in this narrative, and the dominant past tense verb is "stay," repeated a total of six times, which is really not much of an action at all. The point of this story is not some sequence of events that lands the sister in the hospital, nor some resolution of that trauma. Instead, the point was the contrast between the sister's stay in the hospital (3 uses of that verb) and where the narrator herself needs to stay on account of the sister's traumatic sojourn.

In general, a plot of causally linked actions is often not the point of Latino stories. Instead, the children we interviewed foregrounded their family connections to events, places, and even

times. While it can easily be seen that family members frequently appear in children's narratives from all the cultures mentioned above, Latino children often seemed to talk in relatively more detail about relatively more family members than did children from other backgrounds. Although the full monologue is too long for this article, the following is an excerpt from one such child, a little seven-year-old girl from El Salvador (the full discourse took about five minutes and is included in an appendix):

CARMEN: "Well I (was) in the hospital, in the Mass General Hospital--there where my Uncle Roberto works. That he has two children who are not twins but who are only two children because first Robertico was born, who is named after his dad, and then Christopher was born..."

Events leading up to her stay in the hospital are not the ones she chooses to talk about, nor even what happened while she was there (unlike her Anglo peers). Instead, she prefers to fill us in on her family ties to that hospital. Teachers and researchers may dismiss these children's narratives as not being real stories. "If she would only quit talking about all that family stuff and tell us what happened. She never does get to the point of it all," is a quote that is typical of European-American reactions to Latino narrative style. And yet novelists like Gabriel Garcia Marquez, who exhibit stylistic features similar to the children above, have won the Nobel Prize.

Narrative Structure in Other Cultures. Although there are enormous gaps in our knowledge of the structure of stories in many

cultures, some information is available about storytelling styles in children from a few other cultures. Hawaiian children sometimes tell a teasing kind of story, with much overlapped contribution from their peers (Watson, 1975). Children of mixed race and language backgrounds in South Africa tell narratives that increasingly employ repetition, parallelism, and refrains in a hauntingly poetic fashion (Malan, 1992). Children from Athabaskan communities may occasionally tell narratives consisting of repetition sequences (Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

In short, experience can be packaged in very different ways by different cultures. Cultural differences in how to tell a story are as much a part of accent as are differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax. Yet few people hear differences in story-telling style as part of accent. Instead, they dismiss stories from different cultures as simply "not making sense" as if that property were an objective, culture-free one.

Most of the time such dismissal simply results in a failure to communicate between two people, a sad but banal event. However, when such failures to communicate occur in circumstances such as in a school (Michaels, 1991), courtroom (Barry, 1991), or clinical assessment (Perez, McCabe, & Tager-Flussberg, in preparation), the impact of being misunderstood is much more profound. For example, clinical psychologists rated Latino narratives such as the ones above as significantly more illogical and incomprehensible than Anglo narratives, and were inclined to make a diagnosis of developmental delay on the basis of such narratives (Perez, 1992).

Thus it is vital that adults who work with children come to recognize and appreciate cultural differences in story-telling style.

Working Towards a Solution: Chameleon Readers.

There is an important caveat to bear in mind in making use of information about cultural differences in narrative structure: not all children from any one background will bring the same kind of oral narrative structure to school with them, as I have noted above. Teachers must recognize that individual differences abound within one culture, as I noted above (McCabe & Peterson, 1991), and must assess children on a case by case basis. Mindful of this, then, cultural differences in story-telling style affect two areas of classroom life: social interaction and curriculum.

Implications for Social Interactions

Sarah Michaels (1991) has documented many incidents in which teachers who have been accustomed to discourse with discrete topics tend to misunderstand children whose culture allows them to use a narrative discourse consisting of a series of implicitly associated personal anecdotes. Furthermore, numerous studies (e.g., Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983; Singleton & Asher, 1979) document the troubling fact that simply placing children of different cultural backgrounds in the same classroom is no guarantee that they will interact with each other at all, let alone interact positively. Various programs (e.g., Slavin, 1985; Weigel, Wiser, & Cook, 1975) that encourage cooperative learning have been devised to promote such cross-

cultural exchanges. However, unless teachers themselves understand that there are diverse ways of communicating and in some way inform their students about such differences, there may very well remain barriers to cross-cultural communication among children even in these contexts. That is, classroom teachers, as well as children, often form impressions on the basis of a particular child's discourse style, and thus there are problems for linguistically different students. Teachers may want to serve as translators in this respect.

Implications for Reading Materials, Testing Reading Comprehension, Writing:

For children on the cusp of literacy, instruction in reading should from the outset be a deeply meaningful process. For children who display a narrative structure not familiar to a teacher, it would be a good idea to read stories that conform to that structure, particularly if they do not seem to be engaged by European-American stories. One survey of existing texts touted as being multicultural reveals an assortment: standard stories with rainbow-colored children, strange mixes of basal reader-like language and supposedly ethnic values, stories with cultural themes but written with unmistakable story grammar structure by European-American authors, and a few authentically structured tales from various cultures and countries (Burt, 1992). Harris (1991) reviewed African-American children's literature within an historical perspective and recommends voluntary adoption of those texts that constitute an authentic body of literature written about

and for African-American children. Almost without exception, such books, Harris notes, are written by African-American authors, despite the fact that they need not be (Gates, 1992). A well-considered multicultural literacy curriculum mindful of cultural differences in narrative structure would include numerous stories written by African-American, Asian-American, Native American, European-American, and Latino authors for all children in all grades--enough of each kind so that children could come to appreciate the form of stories told by cultures not their own. Why not devote a full fifth of each school year to stories of each of these major groups? Such an approach would allow all children sufficient exposure to stories and cultures that they do not share, while ensuring that all children would share a home background in narrative that is commensurate with school for part of the school year.

Talking about different forms of stories to all children will provide them with the metalinguistic vocabulary they need to work with their own stories, while enabling them to understand those from different cultures. An exchange of information with children and parents of various cultures represented in the classroom would enrich such understanding of stories from these cultures (see Delpit, 1986, 1988). Talk about the kind of tradition that gave rise to specific stories is imperative for understanding stories from cultures not your own. Teachers may want to engage in extended celebrations of various cultures--one at a time and in enough depth to get a real feel for each one--through art, music, dance, and, of

course, stories, pointing out aesthetic values. It is through exposure to a number of different examples of a particular form of story that the form itself becomes apparent. A single shot exposure without provision of information about the culture that gave rise to the story is likely to backfire, leading to dismissal rather than acceptance and enjoyment.

Testing should reflect an awareness of the kind of information a child is likely to extract. Reconstructing a sequence of events is often used as a means of ostensibly "increasing reading ability" (Harris & Sipay, 1990) and of assessing comprehension (Baker, 1982). However, in light of what we know about Latino children's narrative structure, for example, this kind of assessment may need to be reconsidered. At present, all school-children are often asked to reconstruct sequences of events as a means of assessing comprehension of stories. If one does not consider action sequences to be the important part of stories, one would find this a very difficult task. In fact, it is probably comparable to requiring an Anglo adult to reconstruct the family tree after reading Marquez' One Hundred Years of Solitude--a task so difficult for European-Americans that such a tree is provided in English (but of course not Spanish) versions of that book. I know few European-American adult readers who would tolerate such a means of assessing whether they have grasped the points the author was trying to make. The movement in literary criticism to recognize the role of readers in responding to literature (e.g., Beach & Hynds, 1991; Iser, 1974; Jauss, 1974) may need to be invoked here; that is, simply because

children of different cultures recall the same story in different ways (John & Berney, 1968) does not by definition mean that some have correctly understood that story while others have not.

Having children dictate or write their own stories would seem an ideal forum for coming up with stories that have a structure the child comprehends. Unfortunately, as has been noted, research has documented cases where children who do not come from European-American families are misunderstood in, for example, process writing conferences (Michaels, 1991; Michaels & Collins, 1984). Teachers may not know what questions to ask to help the child extend her story, tripping her up or cutting her off instead of helping her (Michaels, 1987, 1991).

Trying to write literary forms not indigenous to one's own culture is tremendously difficult. For example, unless one appreciates the fact that Japanese parents routinely train their children to engage in empathy for speakers and to avoid garrulousness insulting and offensive to listeners, one would completely misunderstand the communicative compression that is the essence of haiku. Although the form of haiku is often taught in American classrooms, examination of the results of such instruction reveals that European American students tend to see this simply as short sentences consisting of the prerequisite number of syllables, not condensed expression. Consider the following haiku found on a fifth grade bulletin board in Vermont:

American: I can feel the wind.
I smell smoke walking in woods.

I hear birds in trees.

Swimming

You get very wet.

You can have a lot of fun.

You get very cold.

Contrast those samples with the following haiku by Japanese children (translations into English by Masahiko Minami, 1990, focus on meaning rather than syllable counts):

Japanese second-grader: A foot-race
My heart is throbbing;
Next is my turn. (Kumon, 1989)

Japanese fourth-grader: Although it is cold,
The Statue of Liberty
Stretches herself. (Gakken, 1989)

Both of the Japanese samples distil a story into a short but true poem, and the reader is invited to imaginatively extend their provocative pieces, whereas the European-American efforts seem to simply describe general experiences, with too many filler syllables.

Thus, such efforts to emulate the literary forms of cultures not one's own may not succeed even when those forms are as short as, and have as clearly prescribed rules as does haiku, with its requirement of three lines consisting of 5, 7, and 5 syllables each.

What would seem a promising route of instruction would be to encourage children to tell their own stories the way they want to in view of the fact that such stories are so critically a matter of self and self-presentation. To convey to children that somehow they are not getting their own stories straight would seem to lead to alienation. With literary forms less centrally concerned with making sense of experience and self-presentation, teachers could seek to standardize rules and rule-instruction. For example, no child I know of spontaneously produces book-reports that extend much beyond saying whether they liked or disliked a book, nor do they feel connected to such reports in the same way they connect to stories about what happened to them or that they imagine. In other words, unlike narrative structure which children bring to school with them, book reports require formal articulation of sets of rules for everyone.

There remains the issue that there are many cultures in the world and here in America about which there is little formal information regarding story form. Characterizing cultural differences in story form takes time and a knowledge of linguistic methodology. This would be a very important task for researchers to undertake. It would not be reasonable to expect teachers to do so while they are simultaneously performing their myriad other duties in the classroom.

Meantime, teachers might want to do the following with children from cultures about which they have little information: (1) Assume that children's narrative productions have narrative

form instead of the lack of it. (2) Use writing instruction as a means of getting the child's story on paper in such a fashion that the teacher can reflect upon it and see form and sense-making that was not apparent in the fast pace of oral conversation. Helping children depict their stories almost as if they were poems (as in the case of the Japanese and African-American narratives above) might be one way to see such form. (3) Give beginning readers at least some stories that will make sense to them. When teachers lack stories from the children's culture, using the children's own stories (dictated at first) as a primary text might be the best means of accomplishing this end, provided teachers are prepared to accept the children's notion of what they want a story to be. Alternatively, asking children's parents to provide stories on tape that could then be transcribed might also work.

Perhaps one of the best documentations of the potential for including stories from a child's own culture in their reading assignments comes not from educational research, but from a clinical psychology treatment program termed "Cuento therapy" (Constantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1986). In that project, the authors used Puerto Rican folktales (cuentos) to reduce anxiety and aggression among high risk children, aged five through eight years. Although prior studies had found it difficult to involve Latinos in therapeutic services, this program did not. In the successful, treatment conditions, therapists and mothers read either original or modernized versions of the stories bilingually to children. They all subsequently discussed the stories and dramatized parts of

them. The clinical effectiveness of this twenty-week program was evident at a follow-up assessment done a year later. No mention was made by the authors of the benefits of such a program on children's literacy skills, although the benefits of bookreading at home are quite well-known (e.g., Wells, 1985).

Conclusion. Many people avoid discussion of cultural differences out of a sense that only attention to universals of human conditions is non-racist and a concern that talking about cultural groups smacks of oppression and stereotyping. By talking about differences within the framework of aesthetic sensibility, however, I hope to make clear that cultural differences are valued, valuable, deeply embedded affairs. Avoidance of such discussion has usually meant that the Western European inheritance was presented as if it were universal. Our goal should be to steep all children in information about many cultures and many kinds of stories.

A good story might be very long and detailed or very short and compressed. A good story might spell things out to listeners' imaginations or it might evoke images through the power of suggestion. A good story might have a fast-paced, sequential action plot or consist of colorful, anchored family vignettes. A good story might concentrate on the particulars of one specific experience or it might weave together several explicitly or implicitly related ones. A good story might resolve some problem or it might present the plight of a victim unable to resolve anything. A good story might reveal a lot about the narrator

directly, as for example in a story about a narrator's heroic rescue of a brother in distress, or indirectly, by filling the listener in on the narrator's family connections. A good story might tease, please, sadden, inform, warn, or entertain listeners. A good story might have a clear beginning, middle, and end, or a good story might have "no endings" or have authors who "had not put events in the order of man's conventional time, but had concentrated a century of daily episodes in such a way that they coexisted in one instant (Marquez, 1967, pp. 176, 382). There are all kinds of good stories.

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@Begin
@Participants: CHI Carmen (pseudonym), EXP Carmela Pérez
@Age of CHI: 6 years old
@Birth of CHI: 8/31/84
@SES of CHI: working class
@Sex of CHI: female
@Ethnicity: Salvadorian
@Date of Interview: 9/24/90
@Transcriber: Ana María Rodino
@Filename: HERNANDE.TXT

ENGLISH VERSION (Translation)

1)*EXP: the other day I went to the doctor's office

2)*EXP: keep coloring +\

3)*EXP: and I had to wait three hours to see him

4)*EXP: there were twin brothers about five years old

5)*EXP: they were waiting too

6)*EXP: they were trying to read magazines

7)*EXP: but every time one brother picked out a magazine the other brother wanted to read the same magazine

8)*EXP: then they would start fighting

9)*EXP: and their mother would take the magazine away from them

10)*EXP: they went through the whole pile of magazines

11)*EXP: and they didn't get to read any

12)*EXP: # do you have any brothers or sisters?

13)*CHI: <bro> [//] a little brother

14)*EXP: a little brother?

15)*CHI: uhhuh.

16)*CHI: he is two years old

17)*EXP: he is two years old?

18)*CHI: uhhuh.

19)*CHI: and mommy takes care <of of> [/] of a girl and a boy who is +\

20)*CHI: the girl is two years old

21)*CHI: and the boy <is> [//] # has just # been born

22)*EXP: ah.

23)*CHI: his name is Douglas

24)*CHI: and her name is Carina

25)*EXP: and do you fight or argue with them?

26)*CHI: no.

27)*CHI: the boy is very young

28)*CHI: # but he vomits the milk

29)*CHI: # because my aunt doesn't take the air out of him

30)*CHI: <and # and when> [//] <and> [/] and because of that he vomits all the milk

31)*CHI: and sometimes he doesn't like the milk

32)*CHI: <and # and when> [/] and when my mom <to him it> [/] finishes giving it to him # he vomits the milk

33)*CHI: # but since he can't take those pills that my mom bought for my little brother

34)*CHI: # for he vomits too # the milk everything he eats because <he # he too is> [//] they are sick from the stomach

35)*CHI: ## but we are from El Salvador

36)*CHI: <and> [/] and my little brother is from here because he was born here

37)*EXP: hmm.

38)*EXP: I'm still coughing from the cold I had

*par: experimenter coughs.

39)*EXP: when I finally got in to see the doctor he gave me <some pant> [//] some pink pills that were about the size of a penny

40)*EXP: have you ever been to the doctor's office # or in the hospital?

41)*CHI: well I (was) in the hospital # in the Mass General Hospital

42)*CHI: there where my uncle Roberto works ## that he has # two children ## who are not twins but who are only two children because hmm first Robertico was born who is named after his dad # and then Christopher was born

43)*EXP: ## when I go home

44)*CHI: uhhum.

45)*EXP: I have to visit my aunt who is in the hospital

46)*CHI: aw!

47)*EXP: she broke both of her legs

48)*CHI: ssss!

49)*EXP: and she has them hanging from some wires hanging from the ceiling

50)*EXP: have you visited anyone in the hospital in your life?

51)*CHI: yes # my dad

52)*EXP: your dad?

53)*CHI: uhhuh # because he was sick

54)*EXP: he was sick?

55)*CHI: uhhuh.

56)*EXP: ## and then what happened?

57)*CHI: ah # they put him a thing in the nose

58)*EXP: they put him a thing in the nose?

59)*CHI: uhhuh.

60)*EXP: ## and then what happened?

61)*CHI: because # he was vomiting <the blood eh> [//] like blood # this way

62)*EXP: he was vomiting the blood?

63)*CHI: like blood

64)*EXP: like blood

65)*CHI: uhhuh.

66)*EXP: have you ever gotten hurt?

67)*CHI: yes # at home

68)*CHI: <I myself> [/] <I bump myself #> [//] we bump ourselves # there at home

69)*CHI: <and sometimes> [//] that time <we> [//] I # hmm had vomits # I had temperature

70)*CHI: <but #> [//] <and> [/] and my mom went to buy me <me> [//] a medicine to see if it would calm down when my aunt was here # with the boy

71)*CHI: but # as I was already throwing out the rest +\

72)*CHI: ## <but it was> [//] that was really awful see

73)*EXP: # did you ever get a shot?

74)*CHI: yes

75)*EXP: yes?

76)*CHI: uhhuh.

77)*EXP: ## and then what happened?

78)*CHI: <but #> [//] sometimes I cry

79)*CHI: but # that time # here I didn't cry

80)*CHI: <co> [//] only when they were injecting me the needle I cried

81)*CHI: but <but> [//] afterward I did this way

82)*CHI: and <afterward> [/] afterward <me me> they put me <the #> [//] a bandage

83)*CHI: <and> [//] and ah I did it this way

84)*CHI: # and # but it hurt me but +\

85)*CHI: and my little brother that it doesn't hurt him!

86)*CHI: <no him> [//] when they inject him the needle <he only does #> [//] he only laughs

87)*CHI: it tickles him because <he is very young> [//] he is young

88)*CHI but <to him> [/] it doesn't hurt him

89)*EXP: it doesn't hurt him

90)*EXP: # I am used to getting shots

91)*CHI: aw.

92)*EXP: and they don't bother me anymore

93)*EXP: but last summer I took my

94)*CHI: hmm.

95)*EXP: my cat to the vet

96)*EXP: and when the doctor was about to give him

97)*CHI: the

98)*EXP: the shot

99)*CHI: hmm.

100)*EXP: my cat took off and ran around the office

%par: child seems to laugh

101)*EXP: do you know any cats or other pets?

102)*CHI: well I used to have a little dog

103)*EXP: do you used to have a little dog?

104)*CHI: but <now # him> [//] my uncle Roberto have a dog # who is one of those german ones ## who is already # two months old

105)*CHI: <and now #> [//] because the mom's name is Butterfly

106)*CHI: # she is with a man <whose name is> [//] who is my uncle whose name is ## ah # Manuel

107)*CHI: <and ## and ca> [//] and by chance eh eh he gave him that dog

108)*CHI: but look

109)*CHI: # that dog # he bites Christopher <because> he runs and bites much [aproximate trans. meaning not clear]

110)*CHI: here he bit him

111)*CHI # <and #> [/] and he bites him even in the face # and here in the arms

112)*EXP: I guess my cat didn't want to get a shot

113)*EXP: one time when I was in the yard # I got stung by a bumble bee

114)*CHI: hmm.

115)*EXP: did you ever get stung with anything?

116)*CHI: a bumble bee.

117)*CHI: a bumble bee?

118)*CHI: uhhuh.

119)*CHI: ## <and one ##> but today when we were coming here ## I was stung by <a # a ##> a hen.

%par: child laughs

120)*EXP: a hen stung you?

121)*CHI: yes # in the finger

122)*EXP: and then what happened?

123)*CHI: but it didn't hurt me

124)*EXP: it didn't hurt you?

125)*CHI: no because <she only did me> <only to me> <she only caught me

126)*CHI: but it didn't hurt me

127)*CHI: I didn't notice when she caught me

128)*CHI: #### because I had a little dog <named> # named ## Yogui ## that way

129)*CHI: ## Run Yogui # Run Yogui that was the name +\

%par: child sings last part of utterance

130)*EXP: one time I was travelling south

131)*EXP: but I never made it all the way there # because my family had a car wreck

132)*CHI: ssss!

133)*EXP: we were driving along when all of a sudden a tire blew up

134)*CHI: ssss!

135)*EXP: and we went jerking around to the right.

136)*EXP: and we crashed against a guard rail

137)*CHI: but +\

138)*EXP: have you ever been in a car wreck?

139)*CHI: no # not we

140)*CHI: <only to my dad ## it #> that never happened to my dad

141)*CHI: only <to a> to a car # of a chinese man # all tires got smashed this way

%par: child claps her hands once

142)*CHI: <and> and the tires this way on the floor

143)*EXP: when we drove back from New York we had to wait for an hour in a line behind one car which had smashed into a sign post

144)*EXP: have you ever seen a car wreck?

145)*CHI: yes

146)*EXP: and what happened?

147)*CHI: (he) went to smash <into a #> into a rail <of # of> [/] of his own house

148)*CHI: because when he was arriving to his house # all the rail he went against it

149)*CHI: <and and> [/] and then by chance he wento to smash into the post he had

150)*CHI: ## and but to my dad # to my dad <sometimes to him # sometimes to him ## to him #> sometimes +...

151)*CHI: <when cars go> <when people go drunk> and when people go dunk # since they block the streets this way!

152)*CHI: and when we were coming # this way # to bring my mom ## to go there to Cambridge ## there <by #> by my house # <a a> a young man was going this way # <across all> across the two lanes

153)*CHI: <and # and and my dad> and my dad was driving

154)*CHI: and when the car blocked him this way # (he) moved to the other side

155)*CHI: and then he let <the> the car passed by

156)*CHI: and (it) went to crash <into the> into a house

157)*CHI: <## because> # into a house <where> where there was a dog

158)*CHI: <and the dog and the dog> and the dog # he hurt him

159)*CHI: but he did not hurt him <because> because after that the dog went running

160)*CHI: and bit him

161)*CHI: and # after that # <the dog> the dog <went> <went> inside

162)*CHI: <and> and he went crying # because it hurt him

163)*CHI: <but #> but not too much but only a little # because he did not hit him very hard

164)*CHI: only a tire <him him> stepped on him there <in the> in the thing

165)*CHI: #### but that time we went to New York

166)*CHI: but looking for the street that lead <to to #> to New York

167)*CHI: # because we took a map

168)*CHI: <and and> and there we look for the street

169)*CHI: and there close <to> to the bus stop # there <by by hmm> by McDonald's # hmm we waited for my gradma <that> that took us to her house because <we used to live there> we lived there

170)*CHI: she lives there

171)*CHI: but look

172)*CHI: # <one time #> that time # my grandma # when she left <for> for there # for <my> my godmother's # <there> there where she lives

173)*CHI: my godmother lives in New York # but in another house

174)*CHI: when they left <a> a young man that has just arrived from El Salvador <that that> went <to> to her door

175)*CHI: # then with a stick he hit the door

176)*CHI: and he stole my bracelet

177)*CHI: because <so it> <so it> <so it> so it could be fixed (implicit: it was given) to my grandma

178)*CHI: and he stole it

179)*CHI: and to my aunt he stole nothing!

180)*CHI: because mine was made of gold

181)*CHI: and my aunt's was made <of ##> of gold too

182)*CHI: but he didn't see it!

183)*CHI: # and <so much that my grandma> so much that my mom had told my grandma "do not leave it within anyone's reach because they are going to steal it and then it is going to be your fault"

%par: CHI emphasizes reported speech by slowing down and changing tone of voice

184)*CHI: and that happened!

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185)*CHI: ## and my mom didn't want anyone to steal the little bracelet because <my mo> my mom wanted it to be fixed <for> because since I go to parties # sometimes

186)*CHI: <and sometimes I> and sometimes <no ## I don't go # no #> sometimes I don't get things fixed

187)*CHI: because I have a necklace # that it is made of <of #> like pearls

188)*CHI: # <so #> so it is very nice it shines

189)*CHI: they (=it) has some of them that shine

190)*CHI: and they (=it) has some like # peach

191)*CHI: <# and that> and that is what they put me that time

192)*CHI: but the clasp # maybe I dropped it at school

193)*CHI: and now # by chance # I don't find it

194)*CHI: I had it there in my house

195)*CHI: but I dropped it at school

196)*CHI: because <# I have> I have three teachers # that I already have

197)*CHI: because <one one #> one is Mrs. Killian

198)*CHI: she was the one after Mrs. Romelrose [Romero?]

199)*CHI: <who was after> after Mrs. Morelos [Romelrose? Romero?] I went with Mrs Killian

200)*CHI: after that now I go with Mrs Coombs.

@End